

Robert H. Welch, Jr.
810 Main Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

April 1, 1957

Mr. Willis A. Carto
Hotel Times Square
Forty-third Street, West of Broadway
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Carto:

Many thanks for your letter, and I am sorry I shall not be able to be in New York City this week. It so happens that I shall be there two or three days the latter part of next week, in connection with board and committee meetings of the NAM. But that is all the more reason why I cannot go down before.

I hope you will have a successful stay in New York, and that at some other time we may have a chance to get together.

Sincerely,



Robert H. W. Welch, Jr.

RHW:EL

AMERICAN OPINION

An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

June 5, 1958

Mr. Willis A. Carto

c/o Liberty & Property
P. O. Box 180
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Mr. Carto:

Your letter of May 29, and the article enclosed, WHAT'S RIGHT IN AMERICA?, put me squarely on the spot. For I like the article. And yet for me to publish it is going to present something of a problem.

You see, my difficulty is space. I try hard to hold the magazine to forty-eight pages, because I simply cannot afford the cost of having it run more than that. Within those forty-eight pages I have regular monthly features, by William Schlammm, Hubert Kregeloh, and Edwin McDowell, which take up about fourteen pages. The four covers, and the page of BULLETS, and the LOOKING BOTH WAYS page, take up six more; I really should run one of the twelve essays, which I have accepted from Holmes Alexander, in every issue (although sometimes I simply have to omit one, because of this space problem); and it is not vanity but plain unmistakable experience, which tells me that from a business point of view, and for the sake of circulation-building, I should save and use at least five pages of each issue for WE PAUSE TO REMARK, or some other entry of my own. This leaves me a total of not more than eighteen "uncommitted" pages per month, and just one article by Medford Evans or Rodney Gilbert or J. B. Matthews or Elizabeth Wilson -- all of whom are on my editorial staff -- is likely to use up most, or well over half, of those eighteen pages.

For such limited space available, at the present time I have, either already on hand, or on definite order, forthcoming articles by Hubert Kregeloh (aside from his regular monthly brief REVIEW OF THE NEWS), Frank MacMillan (in Scotland), Hilaire du Berrier (in Paris), J. B. Matthews, Medford Evans, Geraldine Fitch, Lyle Munson, and a number of other equally effective writers. So you can see I am not kidding about this matter of space.

Let me suggest this. Apparently, you have not yet sent the article to AMERICAN MERCURY. Why not do so (and I am returning it herewith for that purpose). If they publish it, your piece will thus reach a much larger audience than we could reach for you. But if for any reason

Mr. Willis A. Carto

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June 5, 1958

they do not accept it -- or, for any reason you do not even want to send it to AMERICAN MERCURY -- then we'll make room for it somehow,

on two conditions.

The first is simply that you realize our difficulty, and be willing to wait until we can find the needed room -- which we would make as early as possible, but would probably have to be in the late fall.

The second is, that you permit me to do a certain reasonable amount of "editing" of your copy. This would not be for the purpose of changing your thought anywhere, for I like the thought in your article, or I would not even be offering to publish it. And I certainly would not be putting in your mouth beliefs or statements you have not already expressed, or changing your expressed convictions in any way. The "editing" would be entirely because of my concern with the literary quality of the article as it now stands.

Please do not get me wrong in this, as I am not running down your writing in the slightest. The article reads fairly easily, and quite intelligibly, as it now stands. But from the beginning we have set for ourselves a literary standard, for AMERICAN OPINION, which is considerably higher than that of most of the right-wing publications. This is why we pay ten cents per word for everything we publish; which is certainly not a high rate, compared to that of the large circulation magazines, but I believe is much higher than that paid by most of the small magazines of opinion.

In other words, at every point in every contribution to AMERICAN OPINION we want the very best writing of which the author is capable. This applies to organization of the material, and incisiveness of phraseology, as well as to grammar and rhetoric. And I suspect you would be the first to admit that you had not worked and reworked and gone over and revised this particular article, until you would be willing to present it as the very best you could do, from every point of view.

Just to give you one quick illustration of a part of what I am talking about, the last sentence beginning on Page 4 reads as follows:

Many so-called "Christian" churches mildly profess to be anti-Communist but have a creed which is the same as Communism, but dares to invoke Divine blessing.

The sentence is quite awkward, made more so by the use of "but" twice, not in any form of parallelism, but with one piled on the other. It would seem that the subject of the verb "dares" in the last phrase must be

Mr. Willis A. Carto

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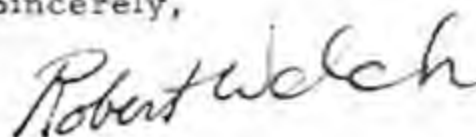
June 5, 1958

"Christian" churches. If so, of course the plural subject with the singular verb is jarring to the reader. On the other hand, if the word "creed" is supposed to be the subject of the verb "dares", the sense is strained and difficult to follow. There are similar "lapses from perfection" in the writing all through the article, some of them involving rhetoric more than grammar; and I would want your permission, in fact your quite willing rather than reluctant permission, to smooth out the writing of the whole article, before I would be willing to publish it in AMERICAN OPINION. And please do not think that this is in any slightest way a slam at yourself. It is simply amazing how few writers, even the best ones, have not become careless or even sloppy with regard to the literary quality of whatever they prepare for right-wing publications. They have apparently come to feel that either the thought or the facts -- these being "truth" against the "falsehood" of the collectivists -- is all that is required. And we simply do not feel that way at all.

So I'll now leave the suggestion with you. We actually hope that you may be able to find more prompt publication of the article than we could give it. But if not, we'll be glad to follow your wishes, along the lines indicated above, to the very best of our ability.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,



Robert Welch

RW:eml

June 10, 1958

Mr. Robert H. W. Welch
Belmont 78, Mass.

Dear Mr. Welch:

Received yours of the 5th Saturday and wrote American

Mercury at once to get their final decision on the article as they'd been sitting on it for a couple months. Just now received Russell Maguire's wire; the answer is no so you've won the cigar and will have the honor of printing it. Which makes me very pleased for in spite of the greater circulation of the Mercury I think that American Opinion reaches a more select and influential readership.

No, I'm not at all insulted at you pointing out a few grammatical errors in it. I'm delighted and frankly admit that I wish that there was someone available to go over everything I and most other Rightwingers write. You are so completely right about the serious need for high standards in Rightist material. Some of the stuff that is put out is a crying shame. It only makes our cause ridiculous in the eyes of many.

I have, however, rewritten the passage in question and request that you feel free to change it any way you feel is better. And the same goes for any other passages you may feel are questionable.

The offer of ten cents per word is frankly more than I expected, being not too well known. You might give me ten dollars worth of trade, when it is published, by sending me that amount's worth of the issue. If you can't take advance orders I'll place the order later.

Thanks again for your consideration. Look forward to next Fall or thereabouts.

Sincerely,

Willis A. Carto
Executive Director

AMERICAN OPINION
An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

June 13, 1958

Mr. Willis A. Carto
Liberty & Property
P. O. Box 180
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Mr. Carto:

Just a note to let you know that your letter of June 10 and the manuscript have been received. And we'll do our best with regard to the date of publication.

Sincerely,



Robert Welch

RW :eml

AMERICAN OPINION
An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

July 1, 1958

Mr. Bradford Martin
Editor, Right
P. O. Box 180
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Mr. Martin:

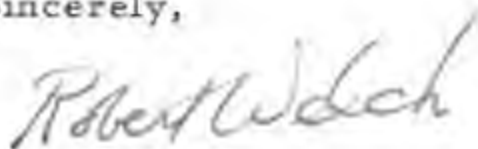
Your letter of June 27, and the invitation to contribute a guest article to RIGHT, are much appreciated. But I'm sorry to say I just can't make it.

I write laboriously, and rewrite and work over everything I do, often many times. And of course the shorter the article, the more work proportionally which must go into it. To turn out a seven-hundred-word article for your paper, therefore, which I should be willing to have appear under my name, would require time which I simply cannot spare from the unceasing demands on that time, in the preparation of AMERICAN OPINION. I am already working seven days and seven nights per week, always under the burden of feeling that I am far behind.

Although I know and have a great admiration for Mary Cain, I do not receive her SUMMIT SUN regularly, and consequently had not seen her editorial to which you refer. I shall write for a copy at once, as I would be much interested in anything she had to say concerning the whole Clennon King situation. As you perhaps know, King himself has now been released from the institution to which they confined him, on motions of his attorneys, and is living temporarily with his brother in Albany, Georgia. Although the build-up of unfair pressures on him seems to have caused him to run slightly amuck at the University of Mississippi, King is still in my opinion a good man, who means extremely well.

With many thanks again for your invitation, and all good wishes to you in making RIGHT increasingly effective, I am

Sincerely,



Robert Welch

RW:ernl

AMERICAN OPINION

An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

April 20, 1959

Mr. Willis A. Carto
Box 5311
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Willis:

Am just back from speeches in Wisconsin, with too many other meetings looming immediately ahead of me, and with the unanswered mail on my desk in piles which -- literally -- would add up to one pile two feet high. So I can't take time to answer properly your letter of April 18; but shall try to cover the necessary specific points as briefly as I can.

My own feeling is that you should not wander too far in the forthcoming article from the original central theme, as expressed both in the excellent title, THE HUNDRED-YEAR HOAX, and the paragraphs already written, of the preliminary version. I think you have one specific idea here which is striking and important; that this should be quite a short and concise and incisive article on this particular point; and that the discussion of many other matters might easily be left for later possible articles. One of my greatest editorial problems in AMERICAN OPINION is to get short articles, or enough of them, which are still worth while. I see in this prospect an excellent chance, which I would not want to have dissipated through your interest and my own in so many parts of the whole problem to which this particular thought naturally leads.

Coming to a second item in your letter, we are gaining some remarkable support, both financially and otherwise, from quite a number of the most influential businessmen of the coun-

try. We are doing it, frankly, by digging so much more deeply, going into the whole problem so much more thoroughly, and building on that basis so much more solidly and demandingly, than anybody else has attempted. One indication of this is the

Mr. Willis A. Carto

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April, 20, 1959

fact that it takes us two full days just to tell the story; and every one of the men, whose names you see listed on the enclosed memorandum, as busy as they are -- and the list includes three past presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers, as well as a great many other businessmen of equal stature -- have all given up the two full days, plus travel time, to attend one of my meetings.

The next of these meetings is scheduled for Friday, May 22 and Saturday, May 23, at the Union League Club in Chicago. Since I am spending other peoples money, I do not feel justified in offering to pay your expenses all the way from San Francisco to Chicago, to attend this meeting; and I could hardly expect you to make the trip at your own expense, unless for other reasons you were going to be coming across the continent or in the neighborhood of Chicago at around that time, anyway. So all I can say here is that, if it did prove practicable for you, I'd like very much to have you at this Chicago meeting -- which will certainly be attended by some of the leading industrialists in that area -- because we would then be in position, after you had heard the whole story, to talk about the prospects of your joining the effort. But if you cannot make the Chicago meeting I'll let you know about others as they come along, and especially any which might be easier for you to reach. The only real trouble here is that I see no prospects of going to the West Coast, or really of getting anywhere nearer than St. Louis, before September at the earliest. So it would be fine if I could catch you on the way back or forth across the continent for the Chicago meeting, or in the East

for some other one.

Hurriedly, but with all good wishes and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Bob

RW:mlp
enc. - 1

Robert Welch

AMERICAN OPINION
An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

April 22, 1959

Mr. Willis A. Carto
P. O. Box 5311
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Willis:

On December 8 and 9 a small group of men from different parts of the country met with me in Indianapolis. Several of them were men as really busy and crowded for time as can be found anywhere in the United States. So you can be sure I would not have asked them to give up two whole days plus travel time if I had not felt that the reasons were worth while.

The reaction to this meeting was so favorable, and the plans formed there so important, that I have been holding one such small top-level session each month since. And this letter is an invitation to yourself to the next of these meetings, which will be in Room 816 of the Union League Club, 65 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, on Friday and Saturday, May 22 and 23 -- to start promptly at 9:00 A. M. Friday and close at 5:30 P. M. Saturday. Because the presentation is an integrated whole, the invitation includes my fervent plea against late arrivals or early departures.

Except for myself, all of those present will be men of recognized standing and proved ability as well as fervent patriotism. The meeting will be completely "off the record." And while I could not tell you its pur-

be completely "on the record." And while I could not tell you its purposes without writing volumes, I do know the pressures on your time and do not lightly make so burdensome a request.

I hope very much that you can be with us. Please let me know.

Sincerely,

Bob Welch

Robert Welch

RW:eml

Dear Willis: This is just the "regular" letter of invitation, which I told you about.
RW

AMERICAN OPINION

An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

April 23, 1959

RIGHT
P. O. Box 180
San Francisco 1, California

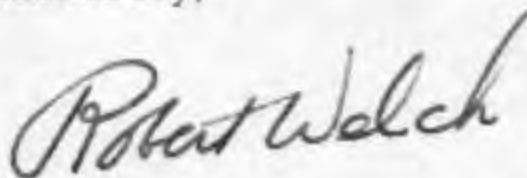
Gentlemen:

In one of the huge piles of correspondence on my desk, which I am just now getting to, is a copy of Report 22 of CARIB, which apparently was sent to me by yourselves.

This was undoubtedly due to your awareness of our emphatic interest in the Communist threats and advances in the Caribbean area; and your thoughtfulness in sending me this magazine is much appreciated.

It so happens that I have been a subscriber to Colonel Istvan's publication for some time. But I might easily have missed it, and want to thank you again for calling it to my attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Robert Welch". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

RW:mlp

Robert Welch

May 10, 1959

Mr. Robert H. W. Welch
Belmont 78, Mass.

Dear Bob:

Here is the article, containing close to 2000 words. I hope that it is what you want but if not, please tell me how it can be improved.

I realized a few days ago that I was trying to combine two separate but related thoughts in the article I had at that time. It was just too much for the length which you wished. So I took out the other thought and eventually the present article emerged.

The "other thought" concerns the matter of psychology of communism. If we cannot explain it in economic terms, how then do we do so? I feel that the psychological approach is the valid one. This is personified by Gustave LeBon and Byram Campbell. It seems to me to be a great shame that these two writers are so unknown and that more anti-communists are not familiar with their work.

In a few days or a week I will endeavor to send you an article dealing with this matter. If you accept it, you might run the two as a series, for they certainly go together. If you definitely are not interested, please advise and I'll not send it.

I am fairly certain that I will be in Chicago on the 22nd and the 23rd, and look forward to it. Unless I send you word to the contrary, please assume that I will be. ~~xxx~~ I will know definitely in a day or two; it now appears as if I will have to go through Dallas on the way--and unexpected development which may hold some significance for yourself.

Patriotically,

Willis A. Carto

Box 5311-SF 1

AMERICAN OPINION

An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

June 3, 1959

Mr. Willis Carto
P. O. Box 5311
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Willis:

Many thanks indeed for your letter, for all of the names and addresses, and for your signed application and dues payment for THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY.

Your membership card in the Home Chapter is enclosed herewith; and we welcome you to a body of men and women dedicated to doing all they can, together and as individuals, to bring about less government, more responsibility, and a better world.

We shall make excellent use of the names and addresses, and especially of the specific information which you were kind enough to code about each one.

I was delighted that you were able to come by Boston, before returning to the West Coast, even though I did wish you could have had a chance to meet and see the other workers with whom you will be associated here in the home office. But we shall all be looking forward to seeing you on June 29.

In the meantime, here's hoping that everything goes satisfactorily in clearing your decks out there, as well as it can be done under the circumstances. And with kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,



Robert Welch

RW:mlp

P. S. I completely forgot while you were here, and apparently you

Mr. Willis A. Carto

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June 3, 1959

did too, the letter from Mrs. Krippendorf concerning British Israel. So I am enclosing at least the last long letter from her, herewith. Please either return it by mail when you are through with it, or bring it back when you come, for our files. RW

June 6, 1959

Dear Bob:

Thanks for the letter from the lady who doesn't like the Anglo-Israelites. I'll return it to you later, with my comments, but don't want to take the time now.

I think that you'll be interested in the copy of letter to Dr. Palyi. You may recall that he said that he'd like to see the book I mentioned by Schuyler. I write him and this is the result. Can you please return the copy to me? Schuyler wants it back.

The purpose of this letter is to inquire if my mailing address is going to be 385 Concord Ave., Belmont 78? I think that that is the address of the office. What is the room number I'll have?

Also, perhaps you can give me a quick opinion on the Brattle Inn and the Commander Hotel, both of Cambridge. I want to get a reservation in one and plan to stay there for awhile, until I get a more permanent place. The Brattle Inn, says the Redbook, is more reasonably priced, but I wonder if it is acceptable in other ways?

I have reservations to arrive in Boston at 9:20 pm night of Sunday, June 29. Flight 12, American. I understand it's jet. It's coming from LA; I go to LA to catch it.

Things seem to be falling into place and I think they will go fairly smoothly after I'm gone.

Liked the last American Opinion greatly. Especially Holmes Alexander's article. Think you handled it very well. The libertarians tend to follow their theories out to their logical and monstrous conclusions, just like other ideologues. So few people see, it seems, that all theories must be tempered by reality. Letting the economic theories of the libertarians take over with no attention paid to social needs is mad. This is like the religious fanatics of various cults "on our side" who prefer to fight other religious fanatics, also "on our side" instead of accepting the desperate political needs of the day.

The enclosed letter from Mr. Morrissey is self-explanatory. You can handle in any way you wish. It was addressed to RIGHT.

Ditto with the letter from Mr. Gabriel. Is A possible member for JBS?

Best,

P.S. As I can't use company money for the trip, can you advance my first week's salary so's I can get the ticket?

Willis A. Carto
Box 5311 - SF 1

AMERICAN OPINION

An Informal Review

Belmont 78 Massachusetts

BELMONT 78, MASSACHUSETTS

June 11, 1959

Mr. Willis A. Carto
Box 5311
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Willis:

Was glad to receive your letter of June 8 this morning, and to learn that you will be arriving in Boston at 9:20 P. M., Sunday, June 28, on American Air Lines Flight 12. I'll meet your plane if I can, and if not shall try to have Dr. Adamson meet it. But since there is never any telling about my schedule or his, if you arrive unheralded, please forgive us, just go on to your hotel, and we'll welcome you with open arms here at the office the next morning.

Frankly, I had never heard of the Brattle Inn. But my secretary, who knows everything -- well, almost everything -- tells me that it is a private home, somewhat old, which has been made over into a hotel of sorts. On the strength of that information, I couldn't recommend it. On the other hand, I am sure that you will find the Commander Hotel entirely too expensive as living quarters for any length of time. You see, Cambridge is so near Boston, especially by subway, that it has always had a dearth of hotels; and in fact we had no first-class hotel in Cambridge whatsoever until a comparatively few years ago, when the Commander and Continental were both built at the same time, by the same management. My suggestion would be that you go to the Commander on arrival, and stay there for just a very few days, using some time here to look around for a more semi-permanent place after you are on the spot. It might be most convenient, of course, if you could actually find a sufficiently comfortable room right here in Belmont. But that can all wait. In the meantime, for an address for everything I think it would be better if you simply used: Mr. Willis Carto, The John Birch Society, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

We pick up all mail for AMERICAN OPINION, mail which comes in my own personal name, mail for THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, and at present mail for CASE, at the post-office twice a day. And at the

suggestion and request of the post-office, we have the street number

Mr. Willis A. Carto

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June 11, 1959

left off all this mail so far as we can; because otherwise some new clerk is likely to put the mail in the pile for the carrier who covers 385 Concord Avenue, in which case such mail goes out on the route and we get it hours later than if it had simply been added to our pile at the post-office. And you can be sure that everything will reach you by using the address given above.

Am returning the copy of the letter from Lambert Schuyler to Dr. Melchior Palyi, as requested. Schuyler writes well and convincingly, so I shall have to get his book and read it, when I can, before commenting. The only remark I would venture now is that it seems a bit unfair and unrealistic to blame the supporters of the gold standard for the financial troubles of the world, when these people are convinced and can make a very good case that it is the abandonment of the gold standard -- rather than following their own ideas -- which has brought about these troubles.

We'll get in touch with Mr. Gabriel of Philadelphia in due course, and I agree that he might make an excellent member of the Society. We are simply not in position to follow up such leads at present, but hope to be so before too long.

Since I already have most of the items mentioned by Mr. Morrissey, I doubt if I shall take time to follow up with him, to get a more complete listing with quotations. But I'll keep his letter in our files unless you want it, nevertheless.

Enclosed is a carbon copy of your article, exactly as it went to the printer this morning -- unless there are some errors in the typing which were corrected in the original, but not on this carbon. And since a rough estimate makes it out to be about sixteen to seventeen hundred words, our check for eighty-five dollars is enclosed. Also, I can well understand the situation with regard to which money can or cannot be used, for your traveling expenses in connection with the new job, and am glad to enclose herewith a check for your first week's salary to help out in that connection and avoid any confusion or embarrassment. Actually, because we have no way of knowing yet how

much to take out for withholding tax, social security, federal aid to Tito, and cigars for Khrushchev, we shall show this on our books simply as an advance, rather than payment, and have you straighten

Mr. Willis A. Carto

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June 11, 1959

it out when you get here.

Am glad you liked the June issue of the magazine so well; and I, in turn, especially like your own line that "The libertarians tend to follow their theories out to their logical and monstrous conclusions." Many of them seem completely to overlook the fact that we are living in an entirely abnormal and conspiratorial world, instead of one in which normal logic would prevail.

I'd like to write more, but there is simply too much to do. So we'll all be looking forward to seeing you very much in just a couple of weeks.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Bob

RW:mlp

Robert Welch

June 17, 1959

Mr. Robert H. W. Welch, Jr.
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Yes, I must admit you have improved the article considerably, especially the ending; even though I might take issue with a few small points, I am glad that you wish to print it. I might make one comment, which is made more to direct your attention to the matter than anything else. You omit the quotation by Vilfredo Pareto at the beginning. It seemed to me to be particularly apt, but unless this was an oversight, I am sure you had your reasons for it. All things considered, I can't say I blame you for chopping the compensation

for it by you from the last one, because I know how much of your time was took. Thank you very much for the information regarding the Brattle Inn and the two hotels. I have written to the Brattle Inn for more complete information because it might be a place where I could stay semi-permanently since as you describe it, it sounds rather "homey".

One more comment, if I may, regarding the free traders. It has always seemed to me that the cumulative arguments against free trade are never used, and this is simply that any system of perfectly free trade would also necessarily include free immigration and emigration of labor. Translated from economic theorizing into social terms, you can see what this would mean. Few free traders seem to be able to answer this at all, and none of them to my satisfaction.

I don't know if you have seen the report on Herbert Holdridge which I enclose or not. You may hear more about this individual, and if so, the report may be of some use to you.

I enclose with this a copy of Candour which I think will interest you because of its comments on De Gaulle. A. N. Chesterton, the writer of this piece, is not always right, but he is influential in England.

I enclose, also, the letter from Mrs. Krippendorf. She undoubtedly is right in a lot she says, but as I know them from experience, I would say that the so-called Anglo-Israelites or British Israelites, or whatever they may be, are on the whole much more patriotic than Catholics. And furthermore, I have not seen them criticize Catholics nearly as much as some Catholics criticize them. My experience has been that their beliefs, however fallacious they may seem to my eyes, nevertheless give these people strong responsibility for the destiny of this country, and for this reason I personally believe their social effect is very desirable. Such men as Dr. J. A. Lovell of Dallas, Mr. R. B. Record of Chicago and his father, Mr. R. B. Record of Los Angeles, as well as others here and there, are to my mind, examples of what is good in the Christian religion. If you could talk to Mr. Record personally, I am absolutely sure you would share my viewpoint. These men have been able to build Christianity up from the slave morality that Nietzsche branded it to a philosophy of a man that has something to fight for.

It does seem tragic to me that so many Christians spend so much time fighting others who are assertedly of the same faith. Just as you brought out in your speech in Chicago, we need some common ground and must get away from this constant and divisive bickering among ourselves over what temperature the water should be when we throw it at the consuming flame of Communism.

Looking forward eagerly to seeing you again and meeting the rest of the staff which I missed the first time. I am sending out final letters regarding the LIBERTY LOBBY next week. Much to my delight I have been able to work out an arrangement with Colonel Pomeroy in Washington which will enable me to announce that the LIBERTY LOBBY is actually beginning operations (although on a limited scale) in Washington beginning July 4th. I expect that in time your organization will be able to absorb what has been built and, taking in other patriotic leaders, will emerge as an effective and coordinated political machine, which alone has a chance to save our country at this very late date.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Willis A. Carto

P. S.:

I am sending Mrs. Krippendorff's letter as well as material from Colonel Hutton of the State of Washington, plus a few other odds and ends by first class mail.

June 22 19, 1959

Dear Bob:

I wish to mail out the below message to selected friends and supporters. Will you please read it and inform me before Monday morning, June 22, if you do not approve. I wish to mail them on the 23rd. If I do not hear from you I shall assume that you have no objection. Here it is:

June 29, 1959

"A PERSONAL WORD TO _____

"As of this day I have moved to Belmont, Mass., in order to give whatever assistance I can to Mr. Robert H. Welch. ~~He~~

"For many years, patriots and conservatives have watched the ignoble ending of their plans and stratagems. To my mind, these have failed for one or both of two reasons. Either the execution and the leader

ship, if not the plan itself, was faulty, or the plan and leadership was good but the necessary backing for it could not be acquired. Not until Bob Welch came forward with the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY have I discovered a plan and leadership with all of the attributes which make for success.

Far from this interfering with the future of the LIBERTY LOBBY, it merely indicates that its growth and eventual effectiveness will be that much more certain. The development of an effective LIBERTY LOBBY and the maintenance of a patriotic Research ~~Bureau~~ Department in Washington play an important part in the concept of the JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY.

"My San Francisco office will be maintained throughout my absence. Personal correspondence, or that concerning the ~~Lib~~ John BIRCH SOV. should go to Belmont. That concerning the L.L. or the R.D. should go to S.F. My addresses are:"

I will also enclose with this the form letter going to these with money in the escrow account. Please excuse its roughness.

I assume that you wish me to make no mention of any future connection I will have with the L.L., and to make it appear that I have ~~completely~~ divorced myself from it. Or do you not care if I identify myself as part of the governing committee of it? Whatever your answer to this, I further assume that you would have no objection to my serving, along with a number of others, on the Policy Board. The men on this will be, roughly, the same as are now on the Advisory Board of the L.L. I'll enclose a copy of their names.

Do you wish to sit on the Policy Board? All terms are for a year, as they have been for the Advisory Board. The Policy Board will suggest issues on which to take a stand. There may be times when it will vote on certain issues. It's advice and counsel will be at all times welcome.

Best wishes, hurriedly,

Willis Carto
Prospect 6-2896

AMERICAN OPINION

An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

July 3, 1959

Mr. Willis A. Carto
Box 5311
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Willis:

Under separate cover today, I am sending you by registered first-class mail, return receipt requested, copy of an extremely confidential document.

This manuscript is not intended for publication at all. But I am putting it into the hands of a limited number of good friends and outstanding patriots, who can be depended on to treat it with the confidence requested, and to take reasonable precautions to safeguard the document while it is in their possession. And I do believe that it will give even so well informed a man as yourself a certain amount of additional insight into some aspects of the conspiracy which we face.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Bob Welch

Robert Welch

RW:mlp

August 4, 1959

Mr. Robert Welch

Dear Bob:

This letter contains suggestions which seem to me, in the light of my admittedly limited observation and knowledge of your full plans and activities, to be worthy of application so as to improve the operation and potential of THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, and to solve certain problems which have become apparent.

It appears to me that the main weakness which has shown up so far is the unwillingness of people to sit through the tapes. If this inertia is a fact, it is something about which very little if anything can be done, and the effect of it—as far as bringing these people under your discipline—is to lose them. This is a mistake, because if even you are not yourself eager to extend your authority, you have a responsibility to do so, whether you want to or not.

The fact of the matter, and the real reason for all of your success so far, is simply that patriots want to be given orders. I think that this explains why people will sit through your meetings. Your speech is very good, but it only decides a person as to whom he should give his allegiance; it does not convince him that he must do so.

I think it impossible to logically convince a person to voluntarily accept your discipline unless that person wants to give his loyalty in the first place. The success of the JBS to date is only because you have succeeded in directing this yearning to you, personally, not because you have convinced anybody, or changed anybody's mind.

Taking all this into consideration, and a lot more, too, I suggest that you institute some evolutions in the Society. Any "body" or organic unity that lives, evolves according to conditions. If it doesn't it cannot live long.

It seems to me that there is a basic discrepancy between the public that you wish to appeal to and the approach. I feel that the approach must be tailored in each instance to the public. I do not feel that the approach to most conservatives (to say nothing of most man-on-the-street) can be the same as that to "top-level" men. In the first place, most conservatives don't do much thinking at all; they feel. But they do believe. So why try to push them beyond their capabilities?

My main suggestion has to do with the institution of a LEVEL system of organization. I propose that each member (as well as each officer) be given a RANK of some sort. Below is an outline of what I mean. Each level should have an actual name, of course; I have not tried to think up names, only tried to split up the chapter membership into certain categories. From what you have told me, I think that your ideas about rank are extremely similar, though I have no way of knowing if you intended eventually to follow the principle down into the chapters.

Mr. Welch

Page 2

8/4/59

FIRST RANK

The Founder

SECOND RANK

Board of _____ (I forget your name)

THIRD

Major Coordinators

FOURTH

Coordinators

FIFTH

Chapter Leaders

SIXTH

Top-level chapter members who have passed all examinations, read all books and filled all other qualifications in every way, and who are assumed to be fit for Chapter Leadership themselves.

SEVENTH

Members who have not yet filled all qualifications of Sixth-Rank but who have heard the tapes, begun their indoctrination program, signified their intention of working towards the Sixth Rank and have already passed certain examinations.

EIGHTH

New members or hangers-on who probably have not yet heard the tapes and have not advanced very far. Still yet who have not been released as members because of their intermittent help.

NINTH

All signers of petitions we get and all other non-members whose help we can acquire in the various activities of the JBS. The "fellow-travellers."

Advantages of this would include the fact that people could be brought into the chapters much faster. Instead of being a confusing equalism within chapters, there would be a dynamic and creative aristocratic class system, with a friendly spirit of competition and assistance as between the Fifth through Eighth Rank.

With such a structure, you would kill two birds with one stone. You would not only have the brute power of mass membership, but an inner, disciplined group of trustworthy cadre, with the added advantage of a complete follow-through of your expressed idea of mobility and maneuverability.

People who came in would not be expected to immediately apprehend the entire meaning of the JBS right at first, but would be eased into a full understanding in good time, all the while the JBS was profiting from their association and having an opportunity to watch their development closely.

Mr. Welch

Page 3

8/4/59

New members could be put to work at once on certain of the projects of the day. At the same time, they would be assigned a tutor of a higher rank. The job of the tutor would be to guide them through a course of reading and self-improvement. There would come an examination, and a letter from Belmont with credentials of promotion to a higher rank. Or, the Coordinator could take care of these matters. The most efficient system would suggest itself in time.

I also propose that as the ranks ascend, the dues increase. I think that dues for the Eighth Rank should be 25¢ per month; for the Seventh Rank, 50¢ per month and for the Fifth and Sixth Rank, \$1 per month. I do not think that dues for anyone should be over that, though people who can afford it should be expected to contribute extra from time to time.

If any of these ideas are considered worthy, it would seem that right now is the time to bring them into fruition.

Sincerely,

Willis A. Carlo
Major Coordinator

January 5, 1960

Dear Mrs. Welch:

Your letter, dated November 18 but postmarked December 30, was received here January 3.

I am sorry that Bob wants THE POLITICIAN back but am sure that there must be good reasons for the request.

I will send it back tomorrow hoping that one of these days I can have a copy for my library.

Sincerely,

Willis A. Carto

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
Belmont 78, Massachusetts

September 16, 1960

Dear Mr. Carto:

Please forgive us for using a "form" reply to acknowledge your Monthly Message envelope. But we are sure you would be in favor of our saving costs by doing so.

This is just to let you know that your envelope for September has been received. If it contains a message, a check mark here x will assure you that the message will have careful attention. If it contains a contribution, the amount listed here _____ will assure you that the contribution reached us all right. If the message calls for specific action with regard to the Blue Book, brochure of the Society, or the magazine AMERICAN OPINION, a check mark here _____ is our assurance that your request or instructions will be acted on without delay.

And without any further check marks, let us assure you that your loyalty to The John Birch Society, and support of what it is trying to do, are deeply appreciated by Mr. Welch and by all of us who are giving so much of our own lives to the Society and its purposes.

Sincerely,

Mary F. White

P.S. Thank you for your comments for the month and also for the enclosures. We have turned this all over to Mr. Welch for his reading and consideration. Thank you again for all of your interest.

mw

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

Belmont 78, Massachusetts

September 19, 1960

(Dictated September 17, 1960)

EX-2-3434

Mr. Willis A. Carto
Post Office Box 5311
San Francisco, California

Founder

ROBERT WELCH

The Council

N. E. ADAMSON, JR.
THOMAS J. ANDERSON
T. COLMAN ANDERSON
JOHN T. BRAFFY
SPENCER BRADEN
LAWRENCE E. BUNNAR
RALPH T. DAVIS
S. M. DRABKOVICH
Wm. E. GUYRE
E. P. HAMILTON
A. G. HENDRICH, JR.
GRANTVILLE F. KNIGHT
FRED C. KOCH
ALFRED KOHLERKO
CLARENCE MANNION
FRANK E. MALLARD, JR.
W. B. McMELEN
ADOLPHO MENDOZA
REV. F. P. O'LEARY
GOLA G. PARKER
M. T. PHELPS
LOUIS RUTHENBURG
JAMES SIMPSON, JR.
ROBERT W. STODDARD
CHARLES B. STONE, III
ERNEST G. SWENERT

Dear Willis:

Several times during the past year I have intended to write you at least a note, but you know my correspondence problem -- which has become ten times worse during those same twelve months. We now have five people in this office, three of them with full-time secretaries, who do practically nothing but write letters; and still the mail held out for me is so overwhelming that much of it simply gets away from me during many stretches of activity.

But I am going to squeeze out the time to dictate at least a few short paragraphs to you today, for a number of reasons. The first is, to thank you for sending me the two copies of the SAN FRANCISCO PROGRESS, containing their attack on The John Birch Society. For I might otherwise have missed this particular bit of vituperation, and it is better for us to have it in our files.

Second, I am sorry to learn that RIGHT is discontinuing publication. For while I am one of those you condemn, as thinking that you "oversimplify," and therefore found much emphasis in RIGHT with which I could not agree, the paper has been a source of much useful information, has shown a lot of courage, and I know that it is a brain child of yours for which you have had great affection. So I am sorry for your sake to learn of its demise.

Third, I am also sorry to gather, from the comment in your note of September 8 as well as from the discontinuance of RIGHT, that you are not enjoying financial prosperity by any means. And I merely wanted to tell you in this connection not to worry about renewing dues-paying membership in the Society, as I am glad to put you on our TRB list, to receive our bulletins indefinitely, with our compliments. And I shall also have somebody see that a complimentary subscription to AMERICAN OPINION is entered for you, if you do not already have one, or if there is at present a paid subscription which may run out. There is probably a lot of what we have to say with which you do not agree either, but I shall be glad to have you read it nevertheless.

Mr. Willis A. Carto

-2-

September 19, 1960

The growth of the Society in numbers has not been nearly as great or as rapid as I had hoped and anticipated at Indianapolis. Although we do now have about seventeen people in the Home Office, and some thirty in the field -- including Kent Steffgen, who is doing a marvelous job for us in Southern California. But the effectiveness of the Society, in proportion to its numbers, and its strength through concerted action, has proved to be immensely greater than even I had expected. So the two errors of evaluation have pretty well offset each other. And the unshakable loyalty of all of our members, throughout the recent newspaper storms in the Midwest, has supplied an experience of tremendous encouragement.

If you are ever near Boston, drop in to see us. In the meantime, I hope your personal prospects will steadily improve. And along with my thanks for your last letter and its enclosures, I send all good wishes and my kind regards.

Sincerely,

Bob

RW:th

Robert Welch

Mr. Robert Welch
Belmont 78, Mass.

September 26, 1960

Dear Bob:

The 7-8-9/60 issue of American Opinion is quite a production and will receive, I am sure, tremendous circulation--as anti-communist periodicals go. In this letter I want to comment on one subject which to my mind is very important today, and that is Africa.

That is, Africa is important only in a negative sense. It is so because the Enemy has made it important. In his Introduction to his History, Hegel says that Africa has no history, and will never have one, because there is no soul, as Europeans understand it. In Africa, the theory of Universality stubs its toe. So he leaves that continent in his Introduction, "never to return to it again." I wish that it were that easy for us. It is a shame that we have to bother about such an inconsequential thing as Africa.

But it has been decided that we must. We must hear of Africa over the radio, read of it, see it on TV and its chieftains in the New York Times. We must think about it, learn the differences between the tribes, and "understand" their problems. So we must as a consequence, forget more, ever more about the history, accomplishments and destiny of the white man.

It has been decreed so.

I think that whoever wrote the sections on Africa in the last issue gets that picture, and whoever it is deserves congratulations. Were it not for the wide range of information displayed I'd hazard that it was written by Reville Oliver, but he is not, to my knowledge, also an expert on that subject. But the style is his.

I want to point out that there is one error in the piece on Ghana. On page 43 the author says, "... we need the raw materials of Asia and Africa." This is a very significant point with all sorts of ramifications. I not so long ago would not have disagreed with that statement but have since discovered that it is not so.

The reason I know about this is that I have had occasion to consort with George Malone recently and he is America's leading expert on the critical materials picture. There are three reports he did in the Senate which completely devastate the Harry Dexter White thesis (for this is from where it sprang) that America is "interdependant" on the rest of the world for our well-being. It just is not so. To sum up these three bulky reports: "The Western Hemisphere can be made self-sufficient in the production of the so-called strategic and critical minerals and materials." This statement is borne out by voluminous and detailed documentation. The three reports are: ACCESSIBILITY OF CRITICAL STRATEGIC AND CRITICAL MATERIALS TO THE U.S. IN TIME OF WAR AND FOR OUR EXPANDING ECONOMY (Report No. 1627, 83d Congress, Made Pursuant to S. Res. 143 by Minerals Materials and Fuels Economic Subcommittee of the Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs - 413 pps.); CRITICAL MATERIALS: FACTORS AFFECTING SELF-SUFFICIENCY WITHIN NATIONS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE (Document 83, 84th Congress, 7/28/55, Pursuant to S. Res. 271--same committee); MINERAL RESOURCES OF AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE INCL. THE SOVIET UNION AND SATELLITE COUNTRIES, 85th Congress, 2nd session.

The first two are the most important for our purposes, as you can judge.

These can be secured from Malone at room 886 National Press Building, Washington 4, D. C. He is in Nevada now, I think, and you may not hear from him for some time, but his secretary should respond. If not, write again. He has plenty of these reports on hand and their contents should be known more widely, for they document a basic fact which is of supreme importance to thinking and planning regarding the proper course for this nation.

The author's comments on South Africa were magnificent. This is the only country in Africa of any importance or significance to history. It is of the utmost importance that we keep putting out truth about South Africa, for the enemy is determined to isolate and destroy her. If we as conservatives and anti-communists keep our eye on the ball and do not let the communists and the liberals hopelessly confuse us and mire us down in a hopeless, stupid situation with the cannibal tribes of Africa, taking sides (!) with the "good guys" and against the "baddies", we can be of some use. I hate to see Human Events and some of the other "conservative" publications taking sides in this impossible mire.

The only way to come out on top of this is to contribute to the natural feuding between the African tribes and to support the Union, not to "take sides" between two or two hundred feuding groups of savages, building up some semblance of order so that the Communists can organize it for an eventual attack on the Union of South Africa.

Actually, I am optimistic, for I think that the Jew-N and the Russians will do all possible to divide the continent, in spite of Hammarakold's fear that a "world war" will develop over the infinitely important welfare of the Congo man-on-the-path. That is, unless the two power factors overlook their mutual antipathy to concentrate on destroying the Union.

I will enclose an extra carbon of this letter in case you wish to forward it to the author of your African reports.

With all best wishes,

Willis A. Carto

AMERICAN OPINION

An Informal Review

Belmont 78. Massachusetts

November 18, 1960

Mr. Willis A. Carto
P. O. Box 5311
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Mr. Carto:

As you will recall, a copy of the manuscript, *THE POLITICIAN*, was handed to you, on loan, and in confidence, July 3, 1959. And, for many reasons, Mr. Welch now wishes to have any which are still outstanding returned, as soon as it is convenient.

When you do send it back, would you put it up securely, and address it simply but carefully to: Mr. Robert Welch, Belmont 78, Massachusetts. Your help, in this connection, will be much appreciated.

Sincerely,



M. P. Welch

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

Belmont 78, Massachusetts

December 14, 1960

(Dictated December 13, 1960)

Mr. Willis A. Carto
Liberty Lobby
Post Office Box 5311
San Francisco 1, California

Dear Willis:

While I certainly wish you success and effectiveness in all that you are trying to accomplish through LIBERTY LOBBY, I cannot possibly let my name be used as a member of the Board Of Policy, or in any similar connection.

We now get about five hundred letters per day. Let me start putting my name on letterheads, and we'll be getting that many more, from members who want to know about these other organizations. So I cannot even consider it. But thanks very much for the invitation, nevertheless.

And with all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert Welch

RW:th

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

Belmont 78, Massachusetts

April 6, 1961

*Dear Member
Knows that we all welcome encouragement*

Founder

ROBERT WELCH

The Council

W. E. ADAMSON, JR.

THOMAS J. ANDERSON

A. COLEMAN ANDREWS

SPENCER BRADEN

LAURENCE F. BUNKER

F. GARY CHANCE

WILLIAM J. CONNER

RALPH E. DAVIS

S. M. DRABOWSKI

REV. RICHARD GUNTER

W. M. J. GIBBS

A. G. HEINZMAN, JR.

BRANVILLE P. KNIGHT

FRED C. KOCH*

ALFRED KOHLBERG*

CLARENCE MANION*

FRANK E. MAHLAND, JR.

N. FLOYD MCGOWAN

W. B. McMILLAN

REYNOLD P. OLIVER

CHAS. G. PARKER

L. M. T. PHELPS

LOUIS RUTENBURG

J. NELSON SHEPHERD

JAMES SIMPSON, JR.*

ROBERT W. STODDARD*

CHARLES B. STONE, III

PAUL H. TATBERT

*Executive Committee

†Deceased

these days, I am sending you herewith some very strong and important encouragement indeed. It took tremendous courage for Cardinal Cushing to reaffirm his support so positively in the midst of the attack we are under today.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

48 B THE BOSTON HERALD, THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1961

CARDINAL HAILS WELCH AS ENEMY OF REDS

NORTH EASTON (AP)—Cardinal Cushing said Wednesday night Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, an ultra rightist organization, should be supported as a dedicated foe of communism.

Speaking at a Stonehill College dinner attended by 300 business and professional men in the area, Cardinal Cushing said he has known Welch for many years.

"Anyone who is fighting Communism today on a top level and who knows the methods and teaching of Communism—that man is going to suffer," the Cardinal said, in an obvious reference to recent demands in Congress for an investigation of Welch and the John Birch group.

The Cardinal said the Communist nations recently issued a manifesto directing Communists all over the world to attack anti-Communist societies.

"Ever since then every anti-Communist group has been attacked," he said.

Cardinal Cushing also announced

he is making a donation to Stonehill for construction of a library to house the papers of Rep. Joseph W. Martin Jr., R-Mass., former speaker of the U.S. House and for many years Republican floor leader.

Martin also was a guest at the dinner.

Cardinal Cushing said the building will be called the "Cushing-Martin Library."

ELECT POLISH JUDGE

THE HAGUE — Judge Bohdan Winiarski of Poland was elected president by the 15 members of the International Court of Justice Wednesday. Judge Ricardo J. Alfaro of Panama was named vice president.

May 21, 1961

DEAR BOB: *Willis A. Carto*

Just saw Meet The Press. You did well, in spite of faint appearance of backing off and defensiveness.

Am compelled to repeat my urging--and stronger--that you publish THE POLITICIAN. Can see no reasons--only excuses--why this is not done.

You can sell 500,000 copies in ninety days. You can do the greatest educational job ever done by anyone on communism. You can start a wave of Americanism, with world-wide repercussions. You can control all patriotic-conservative groups with your resulting prestige, wielding an immense single-striking force. You can get many dollars profit from book to finance the JBS. Thus, you can build the JBS as you wish to do.

Most of all, you need good public relations advice from one with the experience, intelligence and daring to use the great bequest of two hundred million dollars worth of free publicity you have been given.

Sincerely,

Willis A. Carto

P. S. Please do not reply; I just feel called to comment. Am now in Washington. It appears as if the trip is off--so you will not be able to count on troublesome me serving as an entre for an underdeveloped one. Will return check next month if this finalizes.

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
INCORPORATED

Belmont 78, Massachusetts

December 15, 1961

To All Chapter Leaders, and Home Chapter Members:

President

ROBERT WELCH

The Council

N. L. ADAMS, JR.

THOMAS J. ANDERSON

T. COLEMAN ANDREWS

SPRUELL BRADY

LAURENCE F. BURGESS

T. BLANK CHERRY

ANDREW J. CONNEL

RAUL E. DAVIS

S. M. DRAGOVICH

RICHARD DUNN

W. J. GIBBS

A. G. HEINZMAN, JR.

FRED C. KOCH

ALFRED KOENIG

CLARENCE MANNING

FRANK E. MARSHALL, JR.

N. FLOYD MCGOWAN

W. B. McMILLAN

REYNOLD P. CHASE

COLA G. PARKER

M. T. PERRY

LOUIS ROTHENBERG

J. NELSON SHEPHERD

JAMES SIMMONS, JR.

ROBERT W. STODOLAR

CHARLES B. STONE, III

PAUL H. TAYLOR

**Executive Committee*

**Deceased*

As you have probably seen in the press, our COUNCIL, at its regular meeting in New York last Saturday, December 9, issued a strongly worded protest against the present efforts of the United Nations, depending almost entirely on money and equipment supplied by the United States, to destroy by armed force the independence of Katanga.

Since then the American Committee For Aid To Katanga Freedom Fighters has been formed, largely through the efforts of William F. Buckley, Jr., and his associates; and their first full page advertisement, of similar and even stronger protest, appeared in the New York Times on Thursday, December 14. We are enclosing a reprint of that advertisement, which we have reproduced by permission of the Committee. And we urge our members to support this protest and appeal as promptly and energetically as they can.

We realize that it is the week before Christmas. We are sure that the evil forces behind this incredible attack on a brave leader and his people are counting on the preoccupation of Americans with Christmas activities to make it easier for their United Nations stooges to "get away with" the destruction of Moise Tshombe and the subjugation of Katanga. We believe that instead, even during the height of the Christmas season, hundreds of thousands of good Americans -- including the members of The John Birch Society -- will pour such a flood of vigorous protest onto those who are authorizing and supporting the brutal attack on Katanga as to shake them right down to their shoes.

The four steps outlined in the advertisement seem to us to offer a good pattern of protest. We believe that in general letters or telegrams to the President, with copies mailed to Senators, Congressmen, and others (including newspaper editors and radio and television commentators) is the simplest effective procedure. We urge our Home Chapter members to take such action at once. We ask our Chapter Leaders to get in touch as promptly as they can, with as many of their respective members as they can, to urge this same action by all who agree with our protest and its purposes.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

Share this:

